## APPENDIX III.

### (1) The Early Mysore Army.

The development of military science and equipment is an index of advance of civilization in any nation. Living in times marked by heavy warfare, Mysore could not but have paid some regard to military science as an art. It applied its genius partly to peace and partly to war. Large conquests and attempts at an empire were possible because it felt—in Ṣhikkadēvarāja's time—it had a well-equipped army and more effective weapons than its neighbours. As war plays a large part throughout the period, a short sketch of the military organization as built up by this line of kings is deemed necessary, if we are to appreciate its general cultural advance.

The early Mysore army, which came into being in the time of Rāja Woḍeyar (1578-1617), seems to have been composed mostly of armed retainers of the old military class, generally known as the *haḷepaika* warriors (*haḷe* and *paika, payka* or *payika,* meaning Old Foot; cf. also *haḷaba,* an individual member of this old class or community). The numerous conquests of Rāja Woḍeyar resulted in the formation, towards the close of his reign, of a regular army in Mysore composed generally of the quota of levies furnished by the subjugated Pāḷegārs, and the institution of the office of Commander-in-chief (*Daḷavāi*) to preside over its destiny (see *ante*, vol. I, ch. V). The interstatal relations of the time, centring round the rivalry of warring chiefs and states, necessitated the employment of a regular army outside the kingdom without dislocating the normal economy of the State, as the wars of the early rulers of Mysore were not mere raids. They carried with them the duty of organizing the conquered areas (*gaḍi*) by the appointment of a subordinate

executive staff (like the *Thāṇādārs, Hōbḷidārs, Ōlekārs, Amīls*, etc.,) directly under the king. Accordingly, during the time of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar V (1617-1637), the standing army as such had come into being and he is further credited with having erected in Mysore an armoury (*alagina-chāvaḍi*) for the preservation of various kinds of weapons taken from the Pāḷegārs and for the manufacture and storing of new patterns (*Ibid*, ch. VI). Under Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar I (1638-1659), the standing army, with the traditional four-fold elements of infantry (*kālāḷu*), cavalry (*rāvuta*), chariots (*ratha*) and elephants (*gaja*), made its mark during his various campaigns. Seringapatam now became famous no less as the centre of active military life than as the capital of a growing kingdom (*Ibid*, chs. VIII and IX, referring to *K. N. V.* among other sources). The arms and ammunition said to have been stored in the arsenals (*āyudhaśāle, jānaśāle, maddinamane*) at the forts of Seringapatam and Mysore during the reign afford interesting insight into the nature of warfare of the times. Among the arms were swords (*katti, kunta*), daggers (*kaṭhāri, bāku*), spears, pikes, lances and javelins (*bhalleya*), shields (*gurāṇi*), cuirasses (*chūri*), clubs (*hingade*), quivers (*battaḷike*), bows (*singāḍi*), arrows (*bāṇa, ambu*), saws (*garagasa*), slings (*monegallu, kavaṇe*), springed instruments (*eseva kīlāyudha*), boar's head mounted on a spike (*śūlavarāhana tale*), thrusting horizontal planks (*nūkuva* aḍḍavalage) and scimitars (*aḍḍāyudha*). Among the ammunitions were cannons (*śataghni, pirangi, guṇḍu*), muskets, matchlocks and guns (*tupāki, kōvi*), these being generally used in battering operations during sieges (*muttige, legge*); some of these, especially the cannons, being, it is interesting to note, individually named (as *Rāmabāṇa, Bhūta-nātha, Lankeya-nirdhūma-dhāma, Hanumanta, Chāmuṇḍi, Siḍila-janguḷi, Mēghanāda, Kōṭe Kōlāhala, Kali-vīra-*

*bhadra, Lūṭiya-Raṇabhairava, Mīṭina-Ranganātha, Rāmachandra, Muddukrishṇa, Lakshmīramaṇa, Nāgara-mari, Ugra-Narasimha,* and so on and so forth). Among other items of arms and ammunition stored in the magazines and actually in use in the warfare of the times were springed steel armour (*jantrada dagale*), cannon balls (*guṇḍu-gallu*), sharp steel blades (*ukkina masedalagu*), heaps of sand (*maḷala rāśi*), and poisonous crackers (*vishada chīrgoḷave, chēḷu bāṇa, uripoṭṭaṇa*) (see *K. N. V.*, II, 67, IV, 86 VI, 15-22, etc., see also and compare *Annals*, I. 79-82).

The Mysore army had had strenuous field work both under Kaṇṭhīrava Narasarāja Woḍeyer I and Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (1659-1673), especially in furthering the policy of political expansion of the kingdom of Mysore. The scope of its work, however, became widened during the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (1673-1704). He had traditions of Empire behind him; his capital had been the seat of the oldest (Vijayanagar) southern governorship; and there is little surprise that the first campaigns undertaken by him secured for him the submission of the leading chiefs up to Madura itself, though their politics had hitherto been zealously individualistic. Nor was the conquest up to Madura entirely a vain one; to be self-sufficing, the kingdom had to enlarge itself. Chikkadēva had to yield to the essential demands of the hour. There can be no doubt that the principal motive of these wars was political protection against the aggressive North, which the policy of Aurangzīb made manifest. The Vijayanagar king had proved unequal to the labour and had become a fugitive in other lands. The Mysore army, in these circumstances, grew fairly well in size and composition, though we have no data as to the exact numerical strength of its various component parts. The use of elephants and horses (*gajāśva*) appears to have been increasingly popular in the warfare

of the period as also the employment by the Mysore soldiery of the following among other weapons (*battī sāyudha*, lit. thirty-two kinds of arms): axes (*kuṭhāra*), spears, lances and pikes (*sabaḷa, bhalya, kunta*), swords (*khaḍga*), knives and daggers (*suragi*), javelins (*bhiṇḍivāḷa*), hatchets (*musuṇḍi*), tridents and spikes (*śūla*), missiles and discus (*chakra*), bows and arrows (*chāpa, śilīmukha*), clubs or maces (*gada*) and hooks (*ankuśa*) (see *Chikkadēvēndra-vamśāvaḷi*, p. 27). Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar himself, as we have seen (*ante* vol. I. p. 502), has been described as the master of the science of arms and the different arts of warfare, and of horsemanship and elephant-riding, and as an expert in the handling of his famous sword *Nandaka*.

With the gradual decline in the personality of the king and the rise to prominence of the *Daḷavāis* in the early part of the eighteenth century, Mysore fast became a military state, ready to keep abreast of the sweeping changes of the times, without, however, radically deviating from the conventions of the previous century. The campaigns of the period afforded attractive opportunities of service to young, active and energetic members of enterprising families carrying military blood in their veins, while the dismemberment of the Mughal Empire and the consequent rivalry between the Nizām and the Mahrattas in the Deccan on the one side and Mysore and the Ṉawābs of the Karnātic on the other paved the way for the recruitment of the class of fighters known as mercenaries (*paradēśiya baṇṭu*), besides the Mahrattas and the Muslims (*Marāṭa...Turukarapaḍe*) (see *Saund-Kāv.*, V, 113-114; VI, 68-69). Thus the Mysore army under Krishṇarāja II, about 1740, was, we note, made up of the following divisions: the body of troops in the king's personal service (*rāya paujina gumpu*); the assemblage of elephants (*kariya stōma*) and chieftains (*dhore dhoregaḷa stōma*); the concourse of headmen of armed retainers

(*guritanada gondaṇa*); cavalry (*kudure pauju*) and infantry (*kālumandiya gumpu*); champion warriors (*vīra makkaḷu*); chariots (*rathagaḷu*), archers (*biluvidyegāraru*), and the militia from the interior parts (*gaḍi mandi*); the vanguard (*chūṇiya bala*); bearers of lances, spears, javelins, shields and swords (*iṭṭi harige kattigaḷa gondaṇa*); the quota furnished by feudatories (*maṇḍalikara bala*); the corps of Mahrattas (*Marāṭeya gurutina pauju*) and Muslims (*Turukara daṇḍu*; *Turukara bala*); the assemblage of Paṭhāns (*Paṭabāṇi sandaṇi*; *Mysūru Paṭhāṇaru*), and the mercenaries (*paradēśiya baṇṭu*) (*Ibid*, IX, 72-74; also V, 112-114; VI, 68-70; VII, 113, etc.). While there is clear evidence as to the continued use of elephants, horses and chariots in the warfare of the period, the indigenous system of fighting with various kinds of weapons adopted by the Mysore military was in full vigour and seems to have attained a high standard of technical perfection, seldom equalled by their compeers on the field. Thus, among the weapons in vogue, prominent mention is made of the following: cudgels and staffs (*daṇḍa kōdaṇḍa*), swords (*asi*), knives (*kaichūri*), daggers (*kaṭhāri, suragi*), maces or clubs (*musula, mudgara*), and lances, spears or javelins (*tōmara, bhālya, sabaḷa*), nearly a dozen types of swords in actual use being especially enumerated, namely, *sāṇagatti* (sword made of whetstone or grindstone), *harigatti* (*harige-katti*, sword in the form of shield), *siri-gatti, doṇe-gatti* (sword in the form of quiver), *kongatti* (hooked sword), *Maleyāḷagatti* (the Malabar sword), *shaḍ-gatti, kudura-gatti* (sword used on horse-back), *moḷe-gatti* (pointed sword), *vālu-gatti* (sloping or slanting sword), *bēṇṭe-gatti* (sword used in hunting), *jambu-gatti* (elongated sword), and *pārangi-katti* (the European sword) (*Ibid*, III, 110-112). The use of fire-arms by the matchlockmen (*kōvi-kāraru*) is also in evidence about this time, though it had not

completely displaced the bows and arrows (*Ibid*, VII, 42).

Th employment of mercenaries and the use of fire-arms came increasingly into vogue in the Mysore army with the Karnātic war of Nawāb Muhammad Alī, Wālājah and the projected campaign of Daḷavāi Karāchūri Nanjarāja for the acquisition of Trichinopoly (1752-1755). Nanjarājaiya, who was so powerful that he was described as the "2nd King of Seringapatam," had under him two detachments of 600 and 400 Europeans commanded respectively by two Portuguese officers Manœl Alves and Bento de Campos (see Peixoto, *Memoirs*, noticed in *M. A. R.*, 1937, pp. 86, 89). The *Bhāshā-Patra* (1758), elsewhere noticed in full, gives us an idea of the nature of the army in Nanjarāja's personal service, when it tells us that he was allowed by King Krishṇarāja II the sum of 224,000 *varahas* "for the pay of 700 horse, 2,000 *bārr* (sepoys), 500 Karnāṭakas (Karnāṭak sepoys), 500 *janjāḷu* (field-pieces), 106 guns (*pirangi*), 10 *Parangi* (Europeans), Kāfer (*Kāfirs*), *Kāregārs* (manufacturers of arms and ammunition) and others (see *ante*, Ch. XII. p. 304, f. n. 123). Haidar was but the heir and pupil of his master Nanjarāja in this respect. He had not only the best of the English and French smiths and carpenters for the preparation of cannon balls and arms (Peixoto, *o. c.*, 87-88), but also systematically employed European officers under him (see *ante* Ch. XII. pp. 305, 306, f. n. 124). Already in 1756, he had in his employ, among others, "200 Europeans" (De La Tour, *o. c.*, I, 57-58). In 1758, we note, Eloy Joze Correa Peixoto, a Portuguese officer and author of the *Memoirs of Hyder Ally* (from 1758 to 1770), entered his service, and in 1759, he was helpful in hastening Nanjārāja's downfall by inducing Bento de Campos, "the Portuguese Commander of the white troops." in the latter's service, to desert him at Mysore (where he had taken refuge) and compelling

Nanjarāja "to capitulate to his vassal" (Haidar) and eventually retire to Koṇanūr (see Peixoto, *o. c.*, 89; also S. N. Sen, *Kanhoji Angria And Other Papers: A Portuguese Account of Haidar Ali*, p. 81). [For a detailed account of the military organization in Mysore from about 1760 onwards, see text *ante* Ch. XII].

A feature of warfare habitually resorted to by the early Mysore army was the cutting off of noses of the fallen and of those taken prisoners on the field of battle, an ancient custom evidently handed down from the Hoysaḷa and Vijayanagar times. We have numerous instances of the employment of this mode of punishment by the Mysore military during the 16th and 17th centuries, especially between the period *c.* 1575-1695 (see *ante*, I. 41, *n.* 74, 49-50, 53-55, 88, 122, 135, 153-154, 218, 289, 296, 314-315). Foreign writers, to whom this ancient device appeared rather grotesque, if not novel, sometimes exaggerate it (see, for instance, Proenza's reference to "the hunt for noses" in 1657-1659, *Ibid*, 153-154), but the following account of the custom as it obtained in Mysore during the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (1673-1704) is worth noting here. "Their custom is not to kill," says a *Fort St. George Consultation*, "but to cut off the noses with the upper lips of their enemies; for which they carry an iron instrument with which they do it very dexterously, and carry away all the noses and lips they despoyle their enemys of, for which they are rewarded by the Naik of Mysore according to the number; and the reward is the greater, if the beard appears upon the upper lip. This way of warfare is very terrible to all that these people engage with, so that none care to meddle with them they being also a resolute people, and have destroyed many that have attempted them, for, though they kill them not outright, yet they die by lingering deaths, if they make not themselves away sooner, as for the most part they do that are so

wounded, the shame and dishonour of it being esteemed greater than the pain and difficulty of subsisting [see J. T. Wheeler, *Early Records of British India*, p. 74, quoting from the *Fort St. George Records: Di. Cons. Bk.* (1679)]. In keeping with this account is the testimony of Dr. John Fryer, who, writing about 1675, records: "The Raja of Saranpatam (Seringapatam) must not be slipped by in silence, because his way of fighting differs from his neighbours; he trains up his soldiers to be expert at a certain instrument to seize on the noses of his enemies with that sleight either in the field or in their camps, that a budget-full of them have been presented to their Lord for a breakfast; a thing because it deforms them, so abashing, that few care to engage with him....." (*Travels in India*, Roe and Fryer, p. 395). Nose-cutting, however, as a feature of Mysorean warfare, persisted through the eighteenth century, though during the latter part of the century, there was a tendency to its being gradually limited in its application as a punishment for certain specific offences, such, for example, as affording of help, communication of intelligence, etc., to the enemy, the latest instance being referable to the year 1796 (see *ante*, II. 146; Kirmāṇi, *Tipu Sultan*, 200-201; *Mily. Sund.*, XCI. 13-22, etc). Among other features of early Mysorean warfare, referred to in the earlier pages of this work (*Ibid*, I. 54, 122, 124, 296, 339; II. 75-77), were night-action and espionage (through *Kaḷḷabaṇṭaru*; cf. the *Kaḷḷars* or "*Caleros*" of European writers), both of which were developed to perfection by and under Haidar Alī in the latter part of the 18th century.

### (2) Vijayanagar influence on the evolution of Mysore.

Mysore was the immediate political and cultural heir of Vijayanagar. We have clear evidence as to the influence

exerted by Vijayanagar on the evolution of Mysore in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Rāja Woḍeyar's conquest of the Vijayanagar Viceroyalty of Seringapaṭaṁ (1610) must be reckoned, in this connection, a landmark in itself (see *ante*, I. 60-61), for from this time onward the rulers of Mysore became practically independent of the fast declining Empire of Vijayanagar, though they theoretically acknowledged, in their grants, the Vijayanagar overlordship as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Karta*, etc. The Vijayanagar influence on Mysore politically is, perhaps, best reflected in the gradual use by these rulers of the characteristic Boar seal (*Varāha-mudre*) in their public documents (*Ibid*, 169-171, 224), and the adoption of the following among other distinctive titles of the Vijayanagar sovereigns: *Dharaṇīvarāha*, *Gajabēṇṭekāra*, *Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa*, *Mūru-manneyaraganḍa*, *Para-rāya-bhayankara*, *Hindu-Rāya-Suratrāṇa*, *Nānā-varṇa-makuṭa-maṇḍalikara-ganḍa*, etc. (*Ibid*, 66, 94-95, 223-224). There is no doubt, as we have seen, that the titles *Karnāṭaka-Chakravarti*, *Dakshiṇadik-Chakravarti* assumed and asserted by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar in the latter part of the 17th century (*Ibid*, 289-290) had their origins in and were in reiteration of the old Vijayanagar imperial ideal, an ideal which continued to dominate, if it did not indeed inspire, the Daḷavāis and Haidar Alī in the eighteenth century (*Ibid*, II, Chs. VII-XVI).

Culturally, Vijayanagar influence on Mysore is best seen in the planning of the cities of Seringapatam and Mysore (*Ibid*, I. 173-174, *n.* 70; 176, *n.* 75; 388-389); the lay-out of the Palace with its numerous chambers (including the Durbar Hall) (*Ibid*, I. 175, *n.* 71; 176, *n.* 75; II. 603), court life and etiquette (*Ibid*, I. 180-183, *n.* 100, 104; 248-249, 391-396), and the organization and conduct of the time-honoured *Mahānavami* (*Navarātri*) festival (*Ibid*, I. 68, 186, *n.* 121; 193, 247, 397; II. 603-604), all which present a striking similarity to

Vijayanagar models. Vijayanagar, however, made by far the most significant cultural contribution to Mysore in the transmission to her of the "*Throne*" (now adorning the Mysore Palace), that priceless relic of antiquity, on the conquest of Seringapatam by Rāja Woḍeyar in 1610 (*Ibid*, I. 61). Since this "*Throne*" is conspicuously mentioned as the "jewelled throne of Śrī-Ranga-Rāya" (*Śrī Ranga-Rāya-maṇiśōbhita-pīṭha*), it was, as we have seen, possibly the same as the one used by the old Vijayanagar monarchs and had been transferred for safety to Seringapatam during the troublous years of the rule of Śrī-Ranga II in Penukoṇḍa (1574-1586), Rāja Woḍeyar only taking possession of it on the conquest of Seringapatam (*Ibid*, I. 61, *n.* 97). Further, this "*Throne*," which was invariably adorned by the rulers of Mysore from Rāja Woḍeyar onwards, is generally referred to in the records of these rulers (down to the latter part of the eighteenth century) as the "throne of Bhōja" (*Bhōja simhāsana*), "throne of the South" (*Dakshiṇa-simhāsana*), "throne of Seringapatam" (*Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa-simhāsana*), "throne of Karnāṭa" (*Karnāṭa-simhāsana*) etc. (*Ibid*, I. 61, 64, 96, 224, *n.* 51, 232, *n.* 81); and specifically as the "jewelled throne" (*Ratna-simhāsana*) (*Ibid*, I. 61, 158, 326, II. 10, 27, 584). It is, perhaps, to this "jewelled throne" of Vijayanagar in its palmy days that Paes, writing about 1520, alludes in the following words:—

"On the dais in the House of Victory, stands a throne of state made thus—it is foursided and flat, with a round top and a hollow in the middle for the seat. As regards the wood work of it, you must know that it is all covered with silk-cloths, and has lions all of gold with many rubies and seed-pearls, and pearls underneath; and round the sides it is all full of golden images of personages, and upon these is much work in gold, with

many precious stones. In the chairs is placed an idol, also of gold, embowered in roses and flowers. On one side of this chair, on the dais below, stands a head dress; this also is made in the same manner; it is upright and as high as a span, the top is rounded; it is all full of pearls and rubies and all other precious stones, and on the top of it is a pearl as large as a nut, which is not quite round. On the other side is an anklet for the foot in the same fashion; it is another state jewel, and is full of large pearls and of many rubies, emeralds and diamonds, and other stones of value; it will be of the thickness of a man's arm. In front of all this at the edge of the dais, resting on a support were some cushions where the king was seated during all these feasts [*i.e., Mahānavami*]" (See Paes' *Narrative* in Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire*, 265). Again, Nuniz's *Chronicle* (*c.* 1537) briefly refers to the "throne of gold, and precious stones" in Vijayanagar (Sewell, *o.c.*, 377), while Abdur Razaak, who visited the court of Vijayanagar in 1443, during the reign of Dēva Rāya II (1424-1446), speaks of "the throne, which was of extraordinary size, made of gold. and enriched with precious stones of extreme value," and adds: "Before the throne was a square cushion, on the edges of which were sown three rows of pearls" (*Ibid*, 95). In the light of all this data, it is hard to accept Wilks' position, which, as elsewhere noticed (see *ante*, I. 321, *n.* 178), implies there was no throne at all in Mysore before Chikkadēvarāja's embassy to Aurangzīb in 1699-1700.

### (3) The Parakala-Math.

From the point of view of the growth of Śrī-Vaishṇavism in Mysore and its influence on the Mysore Royal Family, the *Parakāla-Maṭh* has occupied an important place in the social history of Mysore. The

nucleus of the present *Parakāla-Maṭh* at Mysore was probably laid in the reign of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (1659-1673), with the migration to the court of Seringapatam of Venkaṭa-Varadāchārya (of the celebrated Kōṭikanyādānam Tātāchārya family of Śrī-Śaila Vaṁśa, Royal Preceptors of the Āravīḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagar) as the preceptor of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar in the sixties of the seventeenth century (see *ante*, I. 247, *n.* 151). Tradition, however, ascribes the establishment of the *Maṭh* itself to the reign of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar I (1714-1732) and this is confirmed by the *Toṇḍanūr Copperplate Grant* (1722) of that ruler, who refers to himself in it as the disciple of Śrīnivāsa-yatīndra, the *Parakāla-Guru*, whom he is said to have invited from Tirupati to the capital city of Seringapatam and accepted from him the credentials of Śrī-Vaishṇavism (*Ibid*, II. 29, *n.* 44-45),

A Ms. *Note* in Kannaḍa, entitled *Śrī-Parakāla-Maṭhada-Charitra-Sangraha*, specially compiled from the *Maṭh* records by the late Pandit Tiruvaḷḷūr Srinivasa Raghavachariar, Honorary Superintendent of the *Parakāla-Maṭh*, gives an account of the 33 *Gurus*, who have graced the Pontifical seat at Tirupati and Mysore from the 14th century A.D. down to the present day, in the following order: (1) Śrī-Pērāruḷāḷajīyar-Brahmatantra-Svatantra-Svāmigaḷu [1287-1387] (2) Śrī Vātsya-Vēdānta-Rāmānuja-Brahmatantra-Svatantra (contemporary of *Yadurāya*, 1399-1423) (3) Śrīnivāsa-Brahmatantra-Svatantra (4) Śrī-Parakāla (5) Śrī-Vēdānta-Rāmānuja (6) Śrīnivāsa-Brahmatantra (7) Śrī-Nārāyaṇa (8) Śrī-Rangarāja (9) Śrī-Brahmatantra-Svatantra (10) Śrī-Yatirāja (11) Śrī-Varada-Brahmatantra-Svatantra (12) Śrī-Parānkuśa (13) Śrī-Kavitārkikasimha (14) Śrī-Vēdānta-Yativarya (15) Śrī-Jnānābdhi-Brahmatantra-Parakāla (contemporary of *Rāja Woḍeyar*, 1578-1617) (16) Śrī-Vīrarāghava (17)

Śrī-Varada-Vēdānta (18) Śrī-Varāha (19) Śrī-Vēdānta-Lakshmaṇa (contemporary of *Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar*, 1673-1704) (20) Śrī-Varada-Vēdānta-Yōgīndra (21) Śrī-Parakāla (contemporary of *Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar* I, 1714-1732) (22) Śrī-Brahmatantra-Śrīnivāsa-Parakāla (23) Śrī-Vēdānta-Parakāla (contemporary of *Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar* II, 1734-1766) (24) Śrī-Abhinava-Śrīnivāsa-Parakāla (25) Śrī-Rāmānuja-Parakāla (1772-1810) (26) Śrī-Brahmatantra-Ghaṇṭāvatāra-Parakāla (1810-1836) (27) Śrī-Vēdānta-Brahmatantra-Parakāla (1829-1836) (28) Śrīnivāsa-Brahmatantra-Parakāla (1836-1861) (29) Śrīnivāsa-Dēśikēndra-Brahmatantra-Parakāla (1861-1873) (30) Śrī-Ranganātha-Brahmatantra-Parakāla (1873-1885) (31) Śrī-Krishṇa-Brahmatantra-Parakāla (1885-1914) (32) Śrī-Vāgīśa-Brahmatantra-Parakāla (1914-1925) (33) Śrī-Abhinava-Ranganātha-Brahmatantra-Parakāla (since 1925).

The *Note* traces the relations of the Mysore Rulers with the *Maṭh* at Tirupati from the time of Yadu-Rāya, by way of indicating the continuity of the influence of Vaishṇava tradition in the Ruling House. Particularly Yadu-Rāya, Rāja Woḍeyar and Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, among the early rulers of Mysore, are stated to have accepted the *Vaishṇava-Dīkshā* from Nos. 2, 15 and 19. respectively in the above list. Among other matters of interest touched upon in the *Note*, we gather the following: (1) The Patron deity of the *Maṭh* is Śrī-Lakshmī-Hayagrīva-Svāmi. (2) Of the *Gurus* of the 17th-20th centuries enumerated above, Nos. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 29 hail from places like Māgaḍi, Pāvugaḍa, Hoḷavanahaḷḷi, Mēlkōṭe, Bāgepalli and Dādināyakanapāḷya in the Mysore State, and Nos. 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32 and 33 from Telugu areas, *i.e.*, Anantapur, Bellary and Chittoor Districts of the Madras Presidency and Gadvāl and Mānājipet of the Nizām's dominions. (3) The original *Maṭh* at Tirupati, which was known as *Śrī-Brahmatantra-Maṭha* from the

14th century, became popularly styled as *Śrī-Brahmatantra-Parakāla-Maṭha* under the 21st Pontif Śrī-Parakāla-Svāmi, also known as *Doḍḍa-Parakāla-Svāmi* (after Parakāla, one of the twelve celebrated Śrī-Vaishṇava Āḷvārs), early in the 18th century. (4) The permanent settlement of the *Parakāla-Maṭh* in Mysore was made by this Pontif in the course of his visit to Seringapatam at the request of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar I (1714–1732), when the latter and the women of the Royal household accepted from him the traditional *Vaishṇava-Dīkshā* and got built for him a *Maṭh* near Karīghaṭṭa (to the north-east of Seringapatam) with the necessary endowments. From hence, the *Parakāla-Svāmi* became the Royal preceptor of the Mysore Ruling House. (5) Since then, the *Maṭh* is being successively endowed and patronised by the Mysore Rulers and has been an active centre of spiritual life in Mysore and a living repository of classical learning and culture under the learned Pontifs presiding over the *Maṭh*. (6) Since the early part of the 19th century, the *Maṭh* has been located in the city of Mysore, the old building being renovated and enlarged in 1899, and further improved from time to time.

### (4) A Note on Haidar's Ancestry.

Of the different versions available regarding the ancestry of Haidar, reference has already been made to that contained in the earliest contemporary authority, the *Haidar-Nāmāh* (1784)[1]. According to two Persian memoirs from Hyderabad (c. 1800)[2], the ancestors of Haidar were respectable inhabitants of Cohir, 28 *Kōs* west from Hyderabad, on the road to Gulbarga, of Shaikh tribe, who held the office of *Coreshi* and *Cazy*. Gulām

1. *Ante*, 205.
2. Noticed in the *Asiatic Annual Register* (1800), pp 1-7.

Dōst Muhammad, Haidar's grandfather, left Cohir due to a family quarrel regarding inheritance, and went to Sira. Poor and needy, he was unemployed for two or three years, but later got the command of 150 men from the Hakīm of Sira (Faujdār), married a daughter of Parsa Munchi, a considerable person of Kōlār, and shifted to Kōlār, where his first son, Futteh Alī, was born. Gulām Dōst Muhammad died soon after, leaving his widow pregnant. A daughter (Khēdija Bānu) was born, while the son (Futteh Alī) was educated in his grandfather's house at Kōlār. He was sometimes called Mīr Futteh Alī. He soon rose to the command of 1500 matchlockmen in the service of the Hakīm of Sira, and held the office of *Naik* (Commander), whence he was called *Futteh Naik*. It was customary for the Hakīm of Sira to pay his troops by giving them assignments on the renters of the districts which were willingly accepted by the military. Futteh Alī got certain mahals of Sira as an assignment for Rs. 1000 due to him from the Faujdār. He married Majedda Bēgum, daughter of Mīr Alī Akbar Khān. When the Bēgum became pregnant, the couple visited the shrine of a celebrated devotee by name Haidar Shah, who predicted that the child would be a son, and ordered them to name him Haidar Alī. Haidar was born in A.H. 1131 (A.D. 1718). Futteh Naik continued to enjoy the command under the Faujdār of Sira, without aspiring to a more elevated station, till the affairs of that district began to fall into extreme confusion, and the Zemindārs withholding the revenues, the troops remained unpaid and dispersed in different directions. Amongst others, Futteh Naik with his corps amounting then to 1000 matchlockmen was taken into the service of the Rāja of Seringapatam in A.H. 1140 (A.D. 1727), when "Dalway Gorachuri Nundoraj" (Daḷavāi Karāchūri Nanjarāja), a man of ability and possessing the entire confidence of his sovereign, was the minister. His vigilance

and fidelity produced a favourable impression on the mind of the Daḷavāi regarding him and his corps, and Futteh was preferred to the rest of the army in affairs of trust. Futteh Naik died in A.H. 1151 (A.D. 1738). The Daḷavāi, in return for his fidelity, bestowed the command of the corps on his son Mīr Hyder Ally, who was henceforth named Haidar Naik, the confidence enjoyed by the father being transferred to the son[3].

According to Kīrmāṇi, the local Persian historian (*c.* 1798-1802)[4]—who, as he tells us[5], bases his account on information obtained by search during "two or three years"—in the reign of Muhammad Adil Shah, Sultān of Bijāpur, one Wali Muhammad "of the tribe of Koreish," a man devoted to religion, compelled by accident, arrived from the neighbourhood of Delhi at Gulbarga. Being a pious man, he was allowed to stay at the Darga or tomb of Hazrat Bunda Nawaz and granted a small monthly allowance. His son Shaikh Muhammad Alī was married to the daughter of a servant of the Darga. On the death of Wali Muhammed, Shaikh Muhammad Alī proceeded to Bijāpur and lived there at Mushaikpura, with his brothers-in-law, who were seven in number. On the invasion of Bijāpur, these seven lost their lives in defending Gulbarga with their master Shaikh Minhaj, described as an Amīr of the Deccan. On this, Shaikh Muhammad Alī and his wife left Bijāpur for good and took up their abode at Kōlār in the Karnātic-Bālaghāt. Shaikh Muhammad Deccani, the chief of this place, under Kāsim Khān, Nawāb of Sira, received him kindly and put him in charge of all his dependents and workmen.

3. The details relating to the career of Futteh Naik from 1727 onwards, as recorded in the memoirs, seem to be improvisations and bear comparison with the other accounts narrated here. Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya, referred to above, does not himself appear to have been in the service of the King of Mysore earlier than 1734 and he was definitely *Sarvādhikāri* and *Daḷavāi* of Mysore during 1739-1759 (see *Ante*, 65).

4. Kīrmāṇi *Neshauni-Hyduri* (Miles' Translation), 1-23.

5. *Ibid*, Preface, XXIX-XXX.

Shaikh Muhammad Alī, besides discharging his duties under Shaikh Muhammad Deccani, engaged also in the cultivation of the soil and rented fields and gardens. He died at Kōlār in A.H. 1109 (A.D. 1696), leaving four sons, Shaikh Muhammad Ilias, Shaikh Muhammad, Shaikh Muhammad Imām and Futteh Muhammad. Shaikh Ilias succeeded him in his office, while Futteh Muhammad departed first to "Turnamal," modern Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, and from thence to Arcot, where he was, through the influence of Ibrāhim Khān, Killedār of Arcot, introduced to Sādat-ulla-Khān, Nawāb of Arcot. He was appointed to the command of 200 foot and 50 horse and was styled a Jamādār. Muhammad Ilias left his hereditary post at Kōlār and proceeded to join one Saiyid Burhan-ud-dīn, a Peerzada at Tanjore, leaving his wife and son Haidar Sāhib, about 14 years old, at Kōlār. He died at Tanjore in A.H. 1115 (A.D. 1702). Futteh Muhammad married Burhan-ud-dīn's daughter, her brother being Ibrāhim Khān, the Killedār of Arcot. At the same time, Imām Sāhib, Futteh's immediate elder brother, was married to a "niece" of his own wife. Haidar Sāhib entered service in Mysore, being appointed to the command of 100 horse and 200 foot. He was also honoured with the title of *Naik*, an officer or commander of footsoldiers. Futteh rose in service at Arcot and came to command 600 foot, 500 horse and 50 *juzail-burdar* (rocketmen) attached to his command. He distinguished himself in the fight at Gingee between the Nawāb of Arcot and Rāja Tīp Singh. There is a graphic account of the gallant service he rendered in this fight by Kīrmāṇi. "In this battle," he says, "the Rāja (Tīp Singh), with only fourteen horse, crossed the river of Sukrateerut (Chakratīrth) on this side of Futteh Peeth, the river being swollen with the rains, and attacked the army of the Nawaub, consisting of four or five thousand horse and thirteen thousand foot; and stretching forth

the arm of manhood, threw the whole into confusion, and stamped his name indelibly on the page of time by his exceeding bravery, and cutting down his enemies as he advanced, the Rāja arrived with only two horsemen at the Nawaub's elephant, when, at this critical moment, Futteh Muhammad, with his infantry and *juzāil-burdar* (rocketmen) formed a circle round the elephant, and at one discharge stretched the Rāja lifeless on the field." For his promptitude on this occasion, Futteh Muhammad was "immediately honoured with the present of an elephant, a standard, and a pair of *nagāras* (or kettle-drums)." On the death of Sādat-ulla-Khān, his nephew Dōst Alī Khān became Nawāb of Arcot. The quarrels that arose subsequently induced Futteh Muhammad to leave Arcot with his family to the Bālaghāt. Leaving his people at Kōlār, he proceeded to Mysore, where he stayed with his nephew Haidar Sāhib. Haidar Sāhib had, by then, established himself well by his amiable disposition and good qualities. Futteh Muhammad was sent for by the King of Mysore and offered service on the same terms as Haidar Sāhib. He was also given the title of "Naik," in recognition of his "personal bravery and prudence in the management of state affairs." But owing to the "quarrels that arose between the king's dependants," Futteh Muhammad, entitled *Sāhib Shujeea* (brave officer), left the king's service and went into retirement. About A.H. 1131 (A.D. 1718), he had a son named Shābāz Sāhib, and two years later, he had another, who was named Wali Muhammad. The latter, however, died when he was only two years old. Shortly after, Futteh Muhammad sought service under Darga Kuli Khān, Nawāb of Sira, who appointed him a commander of 400 foot and 100 horse and put him in charge of the fort of Doḍballāpur. His family, so far residing at Kōlār, joined him at that place and remained there for

some time. "In the year 1134 A.H. (A.D. 1721), while he dwelt there," writes Kīrmāṇi, "a son of auspicious presage and exalted good fortune was born to him; who from the glory of his person shed splendour on the lap of the nurse of his time. The Sun being in the sign Aries when he was born, he was named Hydur Alī Khan." Darga Kuḷi Khān was succeeded by Abīd Khān in the Nawābship of Sīra. Futteh Muhammad continued in charge of Doḍballāpur. About this time, a confederacy of the rulers of Mysore, Bednūr and others invested Doḍballāpur. They sent Haidar Sāhib Naik, then in the service of the King of Mysore, to demand its surrender. Futteh Muhammad, though the uncle of Haidar Sāhib, refused to be "deceived" and stuck to the "paths of fidelity and the usages of the brave." He at once rejected the demand and gallantly made a sortie and defeated the besiegers in a night attack and "thereby gained a high reputation among his companions and contemporaries." The besiegers were thus compelled to raise the siege and retire. Futteh Muhammad forwarded to Abīd Khān the plunder he had taken from the enemy. Abīd Khān not only complimented him highly on his valour but also sent for him to the capital, Sira, and there "honored him with a *munsab* of 2,000 foot and 500 horse." He also presented him with an elephant, a standard, and a pair of kettle-drums. He was also appointed "to superintend the defence and regulation" of the entire Suba of Sira.

Meanwhile, Darga Kuḷi Khān became Nawāb of Sira for a second time. Futteh Muhammad continued under him in his new office of Superintendent of defence and regulation of Sira. When Darga Kuḷi Khān was slain, Futteh Muhammad served under his son Abdur-Rasūl Khān, until the arrival of Tāhir Muhammad Khān, the successor of Darga Kuḷi Khān, in the office of Nawāb of

Sira. When, in A. H. 1137 (A. D. 1724), Tāhir Khān arrived, Abdur-Rasūl Khān retired to Doḍbaḷḷāpur, leaving Futteh Muhammad and one Muhammad Khān Punni, an Afghan, as Killedār of the fort of Sira, with instructions to both of these to oppose the new Nawāb.[6] Tāhir Muhammad was told by Futteh that until their arrears of salary were paid off, they would not yield possession of the fort or the country. Tāhir, said he would pay from the day he took over charge and that his predecessor was responsible for the arrears, from whom they should claim whatever was due up to the date of his arrival. Futteh and his confederates and troops refused and they were invested by Tāhir. The besieged put up a gallant defence, repulsing an attack on the fort from its western—Idga—side. Tāhir then shifted his ground and surrounded the fort and town, but he was dislodged from his new position by the continual discharge of arrows and musketry from the besieged. He again shifted to a village—Kumminhaḷḷi (Gummanahaḷḷi)—about 3 miles to the southwest of the fort. The Killedār—Muhammad Khān Punni—inspired by folly and rashness, as Kīrmāṇi puts it, made a night attack on him, aided by his own and Futteh's troops. Tāhir's troops, however, lay in ambush, and when Punni had pressed on straight to Tāhir's tent and surrendered his elephant, they rushed on them and killed both Punni and Futteh after a hard fight. At the time this event occurred, Futteh's wife and children were still living at Doḍbaḷḷāpur. On hearing of the death of Futteh, Abbās Kuḷi Khān, son of Darga Kuḷi Khān and chief of Doḍbaḷḷāpur,[7] "the

6. Evidently Abdur-Rasūl Khān was superseded in his post and he took vengeance by opposing the incoming Nawāb This is in keeping with the statement subsequently made by Kīrmāṇi that after repairing to Doḍbaḷḷāpur, Abdur-Rasūl "proceeded without delay to Hyderabad" evidently to prefer a representation to the Nizām. See note below.

7. Kirmāṇi mentions "Abbas Kuli Khan" here as the Killedār of Doḍbaḷḷāpur and not "Abdur Rasul Khan", whom he describes earlier as the son and successor of Darga Kuḷi Khān. See Kīrmāṇi, *o.c.*, 12-13, 16.

tyrannical and hard-hearted man" that he was, "immediately began without cause to persecute and oppress the afflicted and soul-stricken family of Futteh Muhammad, and plundered them of all their property, even to the furniture of the house, clothes, utensils, and the trinkets and jewels of the women." In addition to these cruel proceedings, he seized Futteh's two sons, "Shabaz, about 8 years old, and Hydur Ali Sahib, 3 or 4 years old," and carried them into the fort and "confined them in a *nagārā* or kettle-drum, the head or parchment of which being stretched on the drum, it was beaten, in order that, by the pain and distress of these poor orphans, he might extort more money from their family". By this act of cruelty, Kīrmāṇi adds, "Abbās Kuḷi made himself known to the world as a tyrant and oppressor."

Kīrmāṇi, however, gives another version of the occurrences above narrated. According to this account, it would appear that when Darga Kuḷi Khān was killed, his son Abdur-Rasūl, without the knowledge of the Nizām, wished to obtain the Nawābship of Sira and with that object in view, borrowed Rs. 3 or 4 lakhs from one Muhammad Khān Sulimān Zai, a Sāhukār of Arcot. With this amount, he collected troops for the defence of Sira. Futteh Muhammad also borrowed Rs. 18,000 from the Sāhukārs for paying his troops, though he subsequently "converted" it "to his own use." When Tāhir Khān advanced, Abdur-Rasūl prepared to depart to Doḍbaḷḷāpur. Sulimān Zai, the banker, objected to his doing so and called on the Killedār not to yield the fort of Sira to Tāhir Khān unless he paid the sums lent. The men of the army claimed their arrears and in the conflict which followed, both the Killedār and Futteh Muhammad lost their

But it should be noted that he also mentions that Abdur-Rasūl Khān, after going to Doḍbaḷḷāpur, on the advance of Tāhir Khān, "proceeded without delay to Hyderabad" (*Ibid*, 13). What became of him afterwards is not mentioned.

lives. Tāhir Khān entered the town and took possession of it. But the Sāhukār, whose Afghan retainers had also fought against Tāhir Khān and his party, seized the fort and held out for a month, refusing to deliver it over to him until their debts were paid. Meanwhile Asaf Jah, the Nizām, came to know of the situation at Sira, and sent from his own treasury the arrears of pay due to the army and the debts due to the Sāhukār. The disturbances were thus quieted; the keys of the fort were surrendered; and the Sāhukār and his party departed to Arcot. On his way, the Sāhukār saw the position to which Futteh's widow and sons had been reduced. "Moved with compassion for them," Kīrmāṇi writes, "he obtained the release of the women and children." As a wise man, he despatched the former and their dependents only to Seringapatam, "and kept the two brothers, as a security for the money which he had advanced their father (Futteh Muhammad)." Haidar Sāhib, the nephew of Futteh, having come to hear of the fate that had overtaken his nephews, "dispatched" Rs. 18,000 to the Sāhukār at Arcot and obtained their release. Shābāz and Haidar Alī soon after joined their cousin Haidar Sāhib at Seringapatam. Haidar Sāhib brought them up here with "more tenderness and care than his own(children) and provided for them in a liberal manner." He also taught them, we are told, "the use of arms, and horsemanship, the lance or spear exercise and all the accomplishments of a soldier." [8]

In due course, arriving at the age of discretion, Shâbâz, the elder of the two, was married to a lady of his own fmily. On this, Shābāz, "being a young man of independent spirit, and not wishing to live a life of idleness, and throw the weight of his support on his cousin," took, we are told, a forced leave of his cousin and mother, and, accompanied by his brother, sought service

. *Ibid*, 17-20.

under Abdul Wāhab Khān, younger brother of Muhammad Alī (of Arcot), who then held the *jāgir* of Chittoor. Abdul Wāhab appointed Shābāz to the command of 1,000 foot and 200 horse, while Haidar Alī was appointed "to the command of the horse."[9] Some time later, Shābāz fell out with Abdul Wāhab, and, as good luck would have it, Haidar Sāhib, having risen in life and affluence, sent for both his cousins to Seringapatam, where they joined him. They were duly introduced by him to Nanjarājaiya, who appointed each of them to the command of 300 foot and 50 horse. Shortly after, Haidar Sāhib died, and Nanjarājaiya appointed Shābāz to the command of Chikballāpur, which had been so far held by Haidar Sāhib. Shābāz sent to Seringapatam his brother Haidar Alī, with his own and Nanjarājaiya's troops and stationed himself at Chikballāpur with his family. Here his wife died after giving birth to a daughter, whom he later gave in marriage to one Lāla Mean. He also married for a second time "a young lady of his tribe" and by her had two daughters and a son, whom he named Kādir Sāhib. Haidar Alī soon distinguished himself at Seringapatam "with such prudence and discretion" that he won the heart of Nanjarājaiya and Krishṇarāja, the king, and excelled in bravery all his compeers "of older standing" at the Royal Court. He came soon to be considered by Nanjarājaiya "the bravest man in the army" and the leader of his troops. Nanjarājaiya favoured and desired his promotion and permitted him to raise revenue enough for the payment of his horse and regular foot and dignified him with the title of Haidar Alī Khān. The intimacy between the two (Nanjarājaiya and Haidar Alī) grew to such an extent that "neither in business nor pleasure" did Nanjarājaiya "ever separate himself from him."[10]

9. *Ibid*, 20-21.
10. *Ibid*, 22-23.

While the foregoing accounts correct and supplement one another, all the versions to hand, including the later ones, may be reduced to two opposite theories."[11] One may be called the orthodox, and the other the heretical theory. In conformity with the former theory, it has been maintained by Col. Wilks (1810),[12] whose opinion on this point has been more or less followed by subsequent writers, that " the first of the family of whom any tradition is preserved was Mohammed Bhelole, a religious person, who came from the *Penjab* (Punjab) to the south, accompanied by (his) two sons, Mohammed Alī and Mohammed Wellee, and settled at the town of Alund in the district of Calburga (Gulbarga), about one hundred and ten miles west and by north, from Hyderabad. He is said to have founded a small mosque, and fakir's *mokan*, by charitable contributions, and to have accumulated some property by this religious speculation. He married his son Mohammed Alī to the daughter of one of the servants of the celebrated mausoleum at Calburga, and Mohammed Wellee into another family in the same neighbourhood. After some time, the expenses of this augmented family being greater than the saint was able to defray, the two sons proceeded to the south in search of any service by which they could procure a subsistence, and were engaged at Sera (Sira), in the capacity of revenue peons, in the department of the collection of the town customs. Futte Mohammed, the son of Mohammed Alī, and the father of Hyder, was born at Sera. In the course of duty, or for some other cause not explained, the two brothers came to Colar, where Mohammed Alī died, and Mohammed Wellee, seizing on all the domestic property, turned

11. The critique that follows is based mainly on the article by "C.H." in the *Madras Review*, Vol. VII, No. 24 (February 1901), pp. 53-61 (now revised.)

12. Wilks, o.c., I. 261-263.

Futte Mohammed and his mother out of doors." A Naik of peons took pity on them and received them into his house and in time enrolled Futte as a peon in his own command. Futte subsequently distinguished himself in the siege of Ganjecottah and was dubbed a *Naik* and gradually rose in rank and consequence under the Subādār of Sira, who subsequently appointed him Faujdar of Kōlār. His first wife was Seydanee Saheba, the daughter of Burra Saheb, a religious person of Kōlār, who bore him three sons, Wellee Saheb, Alī Saheb and Behlole Saheb. Of his second marriage the following story is related by Wilks.[13] "A Nevayet of respectable family, from the Concan, was travelling across the peninsula with his wife, one son (Ibrahim Saheb) and two daughters, to Arcot. At Tarrikera, near the borders of Bednore, he was robbed and murdered; and his family in the greatest misery begged their way to the eastward, until their arrival at Colar, where their distress induced the widow to listen to the proposal of Futte Naik to be united to one of her daughters. After this marriage, the rest of the family, relieved from their difficulties, proceeded to Arcot." B. L. Rice follows Wilks in this as in other matters of Mysore History.[14] Lewin Bowring (1893), in his monograph,[15] says that one of Haidar's ancestors named Hassan, who claimed Yahya as his progenitor, left Bagdad and came to Ajmere, in India, where he had a son called Wali Muhammad. This person quarrelled with an uncle, made his way to Gulbarga, in the Deccan, and had a son named Alī Muhammad, who eventually migrated to Kōlār in the eastern part of Mysore and died there leaving four sons, the youngest of whom was Futteh Muhammad, who became Faujdār and received Būdikōṭe as a *jāgir*. He

13. *Ibid*, 264-266.
14. Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, I. 372, 416.
15. L. Bowring, *Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan* (Rulers of India Series), Preface, pp. 12-13, Note.

married first a Sayyadāni, by whom he had three sons and subsequently two sisters whose father was a Navāyat of the race of Hashim.

Of the other theory, which seems to be nearer the mark, the ruling authority is Col. Miles. He seems to have been very sceptical of the high and noble descent ascribed to Haidar. He says[16] that Haidar "himself was accustomed to claim a descent from the kings of Bejapoor. There appears, however, to be no other ground for his claim than his own assertion; and the Author of this work (Kīrmāṇi), if he had had the slightest pretext for assigning so noble an origin to his hero, would not, I think, have failed to give him the full advantage of it. But the fact is that his origin is very obscure and the term Naik is rather ambiguous." In connection with this Bijāpur origin, Col. Miles, in a supplemental note to his book,[17] gives a translation of a Persian work.[18] The author of this work, after premising that there are many different accounts of Haidar's origin, states that he was himself accustomed to assert that he was derived from the kings of Bījāpur; and that when their government ended, and Sultan Sikandar, the last king of Bijāpur, was killed, he left a son eight years old, who was saved from his enemies and with a few jewels, taken secretly by his mother to Cuddapah, where he remained unknown until he died, leaving a son who entered the service of the Afghans of Cuddapah as did his son also. The last mentioned left two sons who served the Afghans of Cuddapah and Kurnool in the lowest grade of military rank, that of Naik or Corporal of regular infantry. The son of one of these was named Muhammad Naik. His son was Alī Naik and his son Futteh Naik.

16. Miles' translation of Mīr Hussain Alī Khān Kirmāṇi's *Neshauni-Hyduri* (History of Hydur Naik), Preface, XVII.
17. *Ibid*, 492.
18. Mirza Ikbal's *Ahwāli Hydur Naik*, appended to *Ibid*.

Futteh Naik had two sons, Haidar Naik and Shābāz Naik.[19]

The theory of the Koreish origin seems to be based upon grounds the most flimsy. Of the many inherent improbabilities in it, the first seems to be the one regarding the immigration of Futteh's father and uncle into the south. At the time of their alleged advent, Aurangzīb had died; the puppet emperors that succeeded him had begun ascending the tottering Mughal musnad, the disruption of the Mughal Empire was staring, and the general dislocation of society in Hindustan had commenced. In such a state of ferment, every adventurer of fiery spirit and valour made a fortune for himself in India by either setting up a principality for himself on the ruins of the old Mughal possessions or serving for or against the Mughal Emperor as a military commander. Under such circumstances, it is quite past understanding why Haidar's alleged ancestors should not have thought of securing positions of honour and trust in Hindustan but have pitched upon the rather queer course of coming down south for their livelihood in the rather humble position, to put it in the least offensive way, of revenue peons. Again, if they belonged to such august parentage, they would really have been treated with marked respect, with the result that they would either have risen to be the spiritual guides of the local Muhammadans or have become military officers of rank and consequence under the local governments. Indeed, it strikes one that they were more fit for military work than for revenue work in the position of peons.

Wilks himself later on in his work says[20] that "the mother-in-law of Futte Naick had been ill received at Arcot, on account of her connection with the Naick; and

19. *Ibid* in Kīrmāṇi, *o.c.*, 490-494.
20. Wilks, *o.c.*, I. 267.

the family into which she expected to marry her other daughter declined the alliance for the same cause. She therefore joined her son-in-law at Chittoor, and he having in the meantime lost his second wife without issue, took to himself her younger sister as a third." This is rather a striking passage in connection with the account given of the noble descent of Haidar's ancestors. It seems to indicate that Futteh seems to have belonged to a comparatively lower order of Muhammadans than the Navāyat lady whose cause he espoused. If really Futteh belonged to the Koreish tribe, then the Navāyat lady could not, with justification, have been ill received at Arcot and be refused an alliance already agreed upon. For the Navāyats, as their name indicates, are "newcomers" into Hindustan. During the eighth century A. D., owing to the oppression and cruelty of a veritable monster governor of Irak, Hejaj Bin Yusuf, some respectable and opulent Muhammadans departed with their dependents and effects and embarked on ships prepared for their reception in the Persian Gulf. Some of these landed on the Konkan coast and others to the eastward of Cape Comorin: the descendants of the former are Navāyats; of the latter the Lubbe (a modification of Lubbeik) meaning "here I am," indicating attention on being spoken to. The Navāyats preserve the purity of their original blood, remarks Wilks,[21] by systematically avoiding intermarriage with the Indians and even with the highest Muhammadan families for many centuries after the establishment of the Mussalman dynasties of the Deccan. Certainly the strength of the objection against marrying into a family which had come to India from their original Arab home so recently as Haidar's ancestors had done, would lose a great deal of its weight. The alleged Koreish descent perhaps was first invented to make the marriage of Futteh Naik with

21. See a very interesting note in *Ibid*, 264-265.

the Navāyat ladies to look as if it were one contracted on terms of equal descent and subsequently to answer the purposes of the high regal position coveted by his still greater son Haidar Alī.

Again, it must be remarked that Haidar's own account of his origin seems to be quite at variance with the theory put forward by the orthodox school. It is certain that, if the alleged account be true, Haidar himself would have claimed and preferred the Koreish descent to the Bijāpur one. But as a matter of fact there is no record of his having done either of these things. On the other hand, it may be pointed out that even his claim had no true foundation to rest upon. He claimed Bijāpur descent for the simple reason that he wanted to rest his usurpation of the Mysore Rāj upon a foundation of right. For Mysore was at one time claimed to be tributary to Bijāpur. And the fact that it depends only upon his own assertion and is not referred to even by the best of his biographers, Hussain Alī Khān Kīrmāṇi, makes us receive it with great caution, if not with positive suspicion. The fact seems to be that, as Lewin Bowring,[22] who also shows his disbelief in the august descent of Haidar's ancestors, remarks, "in Hindustan, as elsewhere, when any man of vigour and energy has raised himself to a throne, it is not difficult to find for him a pedigree showing his noble descent, and it is not therefore surprising that native annalists should endeavour to prove that Haidar came from the famous race of Koresh."

So then, it seems clear that neither the august Koreish nor the regal Bijāpur descent of Haidar and his ancestors finds support in facts and consequently both of them are incapable of belief. In investigating the true descent of Haidar, Kōlār and the relations of Haidar's father with it must certainly come in for a great deal of

22. L. Bowring, *o.c.*, Preface, pp. 12-13.

attention. The authorities themselves make Haidar's grandfather come to Kōlār and state that Futteh was born at Kōlār.[23] The local tradition of the indigenous origin of the subject of their biographies seems to have been too great even for them to be quietly passed over in silent contempt. The mausoleum of Haidar Alī's nearest relatives at Kōlār is a standing monument to their connection with the town. It is referred to both by Wilks[24] and Buchanan[25]. But their account being very meagre, the following account of it derived from personal inspection of the mausoleum may be fittingly added here. What is popularly called the *Darga* consists of a number of buildings situated in one spacious compound which has a big tank, originally supplied with water from a lake close by, surrounded by walks of rose trees. Of the several blocks, one is occupied by the official caretakers of the place, while others again are used as kitchens, etc., at the time of the performance of the annual ceremonies: The mausoleum proper itself is a rectangular block of about 29 ft. by 24 ft. with an ordinary terraced roof surmounted, contrary to the usual practices in such cases, by no dome. The walls are built of stones and are covered with a thick coating of lime, perhaps due to renewed official whitewashing. It has neither pillars nor windows, though it has two doorways. The persons who lie buried in it are a dozen in number and include Haidar's grandfather and grandmother, father and mother, an own brother, two stepmothers, four step-brothers and first wife. Haidar himself was to have been buried there but for some untoward circumstances. After "the ever victorious spirit of Haidar," as the Persian biographer writes,

23. But Wilks says he was born at Sera (Wilks, *o.c.*, I. 262).
24. Wilks, *o.c.*, I. 263.
25. Buchanan, *Journey from Madras through Mysore, etc.*, I. 193, Diary for 8th July 1800.

"had taken its flight to Paradise," his remains deposited in a large chest filled with aromatics reached Kōlār *en route* to Seringapatam to be buried there in the tomb specially constructed by himself. But by the time the bearers, accompanied evidently by Karīm Shah, the younger son of Haidar, reached Kōlār, the body began to rot, and as the result of a conference held there and then and with the assent of Karīm Shah, preparations were begun to bury him there. But meanwhile Tipū arrived on the spot and gave effect to the dead father's wish to be buried at Seringapatam. So the body was, after the due performance of the usual ceremonies at Kōlār, removed to Seringapatam and lies buried there. Some of the tombs are covered with palls of colours. The biggest of the tombs is 7 ft. by 4½ ft. and the smallest is about 2 1/6 ft. by 1¼ ft. Originally certain lands seem to have been set apart by Futteh Alī to meet the annual expenses of the maintenance. But soon after the adjustment of relations of the allies after the Fourth Mysore War in 1799, the lands were resumed by Government and a money-grant of Rs. 3,300 was sanctioned instead.

This then shows sufficiently well the strong ties which bound Haidar and his ancestors to Kōlār. Coupling with what has been already said the fact that the title of "Naik" was bestowed upon Futteh,[26] a title which, if he had had the reputation to belong to such noble parentage, would not have been bestowed upon him and even if bestowed he would not, in propriety, have accepted it so calmly and quietly as he in fact seems to have done, we may infer that Haidar's ancestors seemed to have belonged to a locally evolved Muhammadan family at Kōlār, to which must belong the credit of having produced "one of the most remarkable personages who have played their parts on the stage of

26. See Kīrmāṇi, *o. c.*, Preface, XVIII.

Indian History"—without accepting Col. Miles' suggestion, on what appears to be insufficient evidence, that they might belong to a family of Hindu converts to Muhammadanism, who often call themselves Koreish, though it might have the merit of explaining as well Haidar's indulgent policy towards Hindus and Tipū's fanatic outbreaks against them. Suggestions of this kind and stories of the type that he was the son of a cotton cleaner would would make Haidar a *parvenu*, one who rose from absolute obscurity, for which there is no ground whatever. At the same time, the attributing of a noble pedigree is not necessary to raise Haidar in our general estimate of his character and greatness.

## (5) Gunnery in India.

*Gun*: from original French *mangonne*, a machine for throwing stones in sieges, the first part of the word being misunderstood as *man*, *i.e.*, a man; a general term now applied to almost every species of fire-arms for throwing projectiles by the explosion of gunpowder or other explosive. It indicates any metal tube for throwing missiles with gunpowder, etc., and includes all varieties from the sporting gun and rifle to the heavy cannon of artillery and naval ordnance. A *great gun* indicates a cannon. It really stands for a large piece of ordnance. *Use of gunpowder:* The use of gunpowder as an explosive composed of saltpetre, sulphur and charcoal in varying proportions came into general vogue in India in the 16th century. Whether the use of gunpowder in India is really anterior to the 16th century and whether it was known to it before its use in Europe are still debatable questions. Wilks in a note (*o. c.*, I. 528-530) discusses the question to some extent and states it as his conclusion that "there is no direct evidence of the use of gunpowder in India

until a period long subsequent to its introduction in Europe." Since then, literature on the subject has grown. There is no doubt that the bow and the arrow, the ancient weapon of India, had been, at least on the West Coast of India, successively replaced by the matchlock and the more modern musket; the latter, at the period of Haidar's invasion of Malabar, was in general use on the Malabar Coast, in consequence of the long established intercourse of foreigners with the people of that region.

Almost the first to write on the subject was N. B. Halhed, who served in the E. I. Co.'s service in Bengal. In the preface to his work *A Code of Gentoo Laws* (its full title being *A Code of Gentoo Laws or Ordinations of the Pandits, from a Persian Translation*), published in 1776, he remarked at page 57 that "the word fire-arms is literally Sanskrit *Agnee Aster*, a weapon of fire; they describe the first species of it to have been a kind of dart or arrow tipt with fire and discharged upon the enemy from a *bamboo*." The significance of this description will be more strikingly perceived when we remember that the English word *cannon* literally means a *tube* or *barrel* (being derived from French cannon, a tube, barrel; cannon, an augmentative from Latin *canna*, a cane or reed). Halhed adverts to a passage in Quintus Curtius, which mentions missile fire having been employed in the defence of a place attacked by Alexander. Wilks says that he was unable to trace the passage either in Quintus Curtius or Arrian. But he adds that Philostratus (Lib. ii. ch. 14) introduces in a dialogue between King Phraotes and Appoloneus Tyaneus, an account of the Oxydraci, "of which nation were the wise men who conversed with Alexander"; "they inhabit," says Phraotes, "the country between the Hyphasis and Ganges, which Alexander never penetrated, and never would have been able to conquer, for

they fight with prodigious tempests and thunderbolts, being themselves accounted sacred and beloved by the Gods." Hercules and Bacchus, it is added, were both repulsed by that people, who allowed them to approach their fortress, and then beat them back with thunders and fiery tempests. As to the arguments drawn by Halhed from the names of the ancient instruments described in the Indian poems, *agnee aster* (the instrument of fire), Col. Wilks seems disposed to reject them rather summarily. "If I have been rightly instructed regarding the passages scattered through the *Ramayan*, which describe the action of these instruments, they are entirely fabulous. The *agnee aster*, the fire of which cannot be extinguished, may, plausibly enough, be put for the Greek fire, but the *Brama aster*, or *astrum*, a weapon formed by magical process from a blade of grass, when once discharged, cannot cease motion until it has hit its object. The *baunum* (*arrow* in some of the spoken dialects at this time) is also the name for the modern Indian war-rocket; but however various and fabulous, the twang of Rama's bow always announces the flight of the *baunum*. The argument amounts to this, that the effects of gunpowder may have been the foundation of these fables; but to this are opposed the following considerations:—(1) No vestige of fire-arms, or of instruments discharged by gunpowder, is to be found in the Indian sculptures (to be seen in every part of India) which represent the war of the *Ramayan*, or any other war; the bow and arrow, the spear (the Indian *bullum* and Latin *pilum*) and sword, being the only weapons described. (2) The Persian and Tartar conquerors of later periods, particularly Chingeez Khan, whose operations are minutely described, make no mention of a circumstance which would necessarily have excited the greatest astonishment; and so far as I have been able to examine the question, there is no

direct evidence of the use of gunpowder in India, until a period long subsequent to its introduction in Europe." As to the argument drawn from sculpture, it is met by Dr. Gustav Oppert, as will be seen from a later part of this Appendix. It is enough to observe here that the remarks of both Halhed and Wilks appear to have been forgotten by later writers, who revived interest in the subject many years later. Mr. D. MacRitchie, in his *Gypsies of India*, suggested that the Gypsies brought the use of artillery into Europe. Mr. R. W. Irvine, I.C.S., in his *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, replied stating that the history of the fire-arm in India "seems to prove, on the contrary, that it was introduced there from Europe." He has also said that "to the end of the Moghul period the fire-arm in ordinary use was the matchlock" (p. 105), too wide a remark that has been hotly contested by a writer in the *Hindustan Review* for April 1918 (Vol. XXXVII, No. 224). According to Sir Henry Seton-Karr, fire-arms are said to have been first used in European warfare in the 14th century, the hand-gun having come into practical use in 1446 and being of very rude construction (see *Ency. Brit.*, 11th Edn., Vol. XII, 717, Art. "Gun").

The question whether gunpowder was known in India before it was *discovered* in Europe is one of less importance perhaps to-day, as Dr. Hodgkinson, F.R.S., F.C.S., the writer of the article on gunpowder in the 11th edition of the *Ency. Brit.* (p. 723), says that "it is probably quite incorrect to speak of the *discovery* of gunpowder. From modern researches it seems more likely and more just to think of it as a thing that has developed, passing through many stages mainly of improvement, but some undoubtedly retrograde. There really is not sufficient evidence on which to pin down its invention to one-man, or probably to one nation. As Lieut. Col. H. W.L. Hime (*Gunpowder and Ammunition*,

1904) says, the invention of gunpowder was impossible until the properties of nearly pure saltpetre had become known." In Europe, the honour has been associated with two names in particular, Berthhold Schwartz, a German monk, and Friar Bacon. It is not known when Schwartz lived. He invented the first fire-arms, and as nothing was known of an inventor of gunpowder, it was perhaps considered justifiable, according to one authority, to give him the credit thereof. The year 1354 is sometimes mentioned as the date of his invention of powder, but considering there can be no doubt as to the manufacture in England of gunpowder and cannon in 1344, that we have authentic information of guns in France in 1338 and in Florence in 1326, and that an Oxford Ms. of 1325 gives an illustration of a gun, Schwartz must have lived long before 1354 to have been the inventor of gunpowder or guns. Roger Bacon belongs to the 13th century. In 1242, he referred to an explosive mixture as known before his time and employed for "diversion, producing a noise like thunder and flashes like lightning." He speaks of saltpetre as a violent explosive, but there is no doubt that he knew it was not a self-explosive substance, but only so when mixed with other substances. Bacon evidently was in possession of an explosive which was a considerable advance on mere incendiary compositions. But he does not appear to have been aware of the projecting power of gunpowder. He knew that it exploded, and that, perhaps, people might be blown up or frightened by it; more cannot be said. That is the conclusion come to by Col. Hime in his work. Hime is also of opinion that Bacon blundered upon gunpowder whilst playing with some incendiary composition, in which he employed his comparatively pure saltpetre instead of a crude nitrum. Dutens, in his *Enquiry into the Origin of Discoveries attributed to Moderns*, sets down many

passages from old authors in support of his view that a composition of the nature of gunpowder was not unknown to the ancients. Col. Hime's arguments go to show, in the view of Hodgkinson, that these compositions could only have been of the incendiary type and not real explosive. His arguments seem to apply not only to the Greeks but also to the Arabs, Hindus and Chinese. It is now conceded freely—and Hime's arguments support this view—that incendiary compositions, some perhaps containing nitre, mostly, however, simply combustible substances as sulphur, naphtha, resins, etc., were employed and projected both for defence and offence, *but they were projected or blown by engines and not by themselves.* It is quite inconceivable, remarks Hodgkinson, that a real propelling explosive should have been known in the time of Alexander the Great or much later, and not have immediately taken its proper place. Hime, in a chapter discussing this question of explosives amongst the Hindus, says: "It is needless to enlarge the list of quotations: incendiaries pursued much the same course in upper India as in Greece and Arabia." No trustworthy evidence, it is added, of an explosive in India is to be found until the 21st of April 1526, the date of the decisive battle of Panipat, in which Ibrahim, Sultān of Delhi, was killed and his army routed by Baber, the Mughal, who possessed both great and small fire-arms. The employment of rockets "wildfire" incendiary composition, it is also conceded, is undoubtedly of very old date in India, but the names given to pieces of artillery under the Mughal conqueror of Hindustan point to a European, or at least to a Turkish origin, and we know for certain that Europeans (Portuguese and others) were retained in the service of Akbar and Aurangzīb. The composition of present day Chinese gunpowder being almost identical with that employed in Europe, it is

inferred that the knowledge of it was obtained by the Chinese in all probability from Western sources. In the writings of Bacon, there is no mention of guns or the use of powder as a propellent but merely as an explosive and destructive power. Owing perhaps to this obscurity centred round the early history of gunpowder, its employment as a propelling agent has been ascribed to the Moors or Saracens.

So far as India is concerned, the Portuguese came in there as the pioneers of European nations in 1498. Even before their arrival, guns were in common use in India, as is mentioned by Faria-e-Souza. He has proved that *Manjanik* was used in India in 1371. When Vasco Da Gama entered into Calicut, there was a procession and one of the Nairs carried a *caliver* which he fired off at intervals (Elliot, *History of India*, VI, 467). As to the evidence of sculptures, there is a stone *maṇḍap* in the temple of Ādi Jagannāth in Madura, on the walls of which are figures of some soldiers carrying in their arms small fire-arms. On the walls of the 5th story of the temple of Sārangapāṇi at Kumbakonam are standing figures of soldiers, in front of the king (in a a chariot), carrying small fire-arms in their hands. Similarly in the *Śata-stambha-maṇḍap* at Conjeeveram will be seen a trooper on horseback and a footsoldier aiming at the enemy with his fire-arms. In the precincts of the Brihadīśvara temple at Tanjore, figures of sepoys with small carbines can be seen, while on the pillars of the *sabhā-maṇḍap* of a celebrated Śiva temple near Coimbatore, there is a figure of a soldier with a gun. None of these temples is older than about 5 or 6 hundred years. Dr. Gustav Oppert, in his book "On the Weapons, Army organizations, etc., of the Hindus", observes: "We should never lose sight of the fact that new subjects are not introduced in the architectural designs of the principal figures in any ecclesiastical building. No architect,

no one who erects a sacred pagoda at his own cost, will dare to represent in the chief carving of a conspicuous part of a building..... a subject which is new and with which his countrymen were not familiar in times of yore or which are not mentioned in the *Śilpa-Śāstra*, or the works of art" (Gustav Oppert, *o. c.*, 78-79). From a controversy between Dr. Oppert and W. F. Sinclair, it appears that the former holds that "Europeans did not apply flints or firelocks to guns before the 17th century, but the Hindus did (see *Indian Antiquary*, September 1878)." Dr. Oppert quotes the 136th verse of the *Śukranīti* and translates: "the brush at the vent carries stone and powder and has a machinery which produces fire when striking." He further says, "in the sixth book of the *Nītiprakāśika* are enumerated all the articles which a king should take with him when setting out for a military expedition." After mentioning all sorts of provisions and arms, reference is also made in the 51st *ślōka* to the "cotton of the silk-cotton tree and iron joined with flint." Dr. Oppert has proved his dictum that India is the home of gunpowder and fire-arms. Johann Beckmann also, in his "History of Inventions and Discoveries," is "more than ever inclined to accede to the opinion of those who believe that gunpowder was invented in India, and brought by the Saracens from Africa to the Europeans, who, however, improved the preparation of it and found out different ways of employing it in war as well as small arms and cannons." "So far as the use of fire-arms is concerned," he adds, "*Śukranīti*, *Nītiprakāśa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Agnipurāṇa* may be consulted".

Coming to more modern times, the *Tuzak-i-Bābari* mentions that as early as the age of Baber (16th cent.) not only matchlocks but other guns were much in use. In the later Mughal period, artillery was much improved and good guns were certainly used. In the *Ain-i-Akbari*,

we find that Akbar improved the matchlock, called *tufang*. The *Tārikh-i-Rashīdi* refers to the presence of heavy guns on the eve of the battle between Humāyūn and Sher Khān, each of which required 8 pairs of bullocks for drawing. " Stone balls," we read, " were of no use in these, but the shots were of molten brass and weighed 5,000 *miskals* and the cost of each was 200 *miskals* of silver. They would strike anything that was visible at the distance of a *parusang*." In the 37th year of Akbar's reign, there were in the small but renowned fort of Junagarh in Surat "100 guns, some of which discharged balls of one *man* (maund) and a half and these they fired several times daily." In the *Akbar-Nāma*, we have a description of the fort of Asir, which is stated to have contained the following : " of pieces of artillery (*zarb-zan*) small and great, there were more than 1,300, besides some which were disused. The balls varied in weight from nearly *two mans* to a *sir* (seer) or half of *sir*. There were great numbers of mortars (*hukka-dan*) and also many *Manjaniks*, each of which threw stones of 1,000 or 2,000 *mans*. On every bastion there were large iron cauldrons, in each of which 20 or 30 *mans* of oil could be boiled and poured down upon the assailants in case of assault. No account was taken of the muskets and there were large chambers full of powder." Similarly we have the evidence of *Shahjahān-Nāma* of Ināyat Khān and *Jauhar-Samsam* of M. M. Sadiki relating to the use of gunpowder and fire-arms of various sizes during the time of the later Mughals.

Foreign influence, particularly Portuguese, began, however, to make itself felt on the warfare in the Deccan and the South (especially in regard to the use of fire-arms) from the early part of the 16th century onwards. Krishṇadēvarāya, the Vijayanagar King (1509-1530), employed a Portuguese officer, Christovao de Figueredo, during the siege of Raichūr (1520), to help with the

musqueteers he had brought, to open fire on Ismail Adil Shah's forces who exposed themselves on the fort-wall, "in such a way that he slew many, the Moors being careless and free from fear, as men who up to then had never seen men killed with fire-arms nor with such other weapons" (see *Mys. Gaz.*, II-iii. 1845, quoting the Portuguese Chronicle of Nuniz). Ismail Adil Shah himself and his successors seem to have copied what Krishṇarāya did in the matter of the use of fire-arms. Among his more famous successors were Ibrahim I (Feb. 1535 to 1557), Alī I (1557-1580), Ibrahim II (1580-1626), Muhammad (1626-1656), Alī II (1656-1659) and Sikandar (1659-1686). Muhammad was a great builder, his tomb being the famous Boli Gumbuz (the Dome of Speech) at Bijāpur, which still attracts thousands of visitors yearly. The Dome is 198 feet high and contains a most perfect whispering gallery and the tomb is perhaps the most effective building in appearance in all Bijāpur to-day. Muhammad also built Asar Mahar, the next building of importance, about a mile from the present Bijāpur Railway Station. What is of direct interest to us is a bastion here, near what is locally called the Fateh Gate, on the southern side. This towers ahead and is known as the *Landa-Kasāb*. On it is the largest gun in Bijāpur and since it is in a place rather rarely visited, it has been overlooked and the *Malik-i-Maidan* here is considered the largest. The bastion was built in 1609 by one Hazrat Shah during the reign of Ibrahim II. It was evidently completed, according to an inscription, in 1662, in Sikandar's reign, having been in construction for 53 years! What is of note is that the *Landa-Kasāb* seems the most formidable in construction and armament of all the bastions on the southern side, as, in addition to the large iron gun mentioned above, two other pieces of artillery were mounted on it, one of which, resembling a modern mortar,

still lies on it. Against this bastion, Aurangzīb, in 1686, seems to have directed the whole fire of his artillery and pitted it with shot-marks. Little damage was done to the tower itself, but a breach was made in the curtain-wall close by, which rendered the place untenable. Both guns seem to have been struck more than once and the larger one lies dismounted, probably from a shot which struck it near the muzzle. Another gun is at the Sherki Burj (Lion Bastion), so called from the figures of two lions on it. Here is the big gun of Bijāpur called *Malik-i-Maidan*, or "Lord of the Field." It was cast at Ahmadnagar by a Turkish officer in 1549. His name—Muhammad Bin Hasan Rumi—is inscribed on it, while two other inscriptions are also to be found on it, one of these, the one nearest the mouth, having been added by Aurangzīb when he took the city. How far the Portuguese helped the Bijāpur Sultans in gunnery we do not know, but there is no doubt they employed Portuguese in their service for long as artillery and other officers in the army. The Fateh Gate of the city was guarded in the olden days by two of the strongest bastions, one being the *Landa-Kasāb* and the other being still known as the *Feringhi-Burj*, having been built by a Portuguese general of Alī Adil Shah I (1557-1580). In the citadel of the old rock-fortress at Raichūr can be seen a curious old gun 21 feet long. The breach is blown away, so that the structure of the gun can be easily perceived. It is formed of twelve longitudinal iron bars, each about eleven inches square, bound together by two wrought iron coils. The gun was evidently mounted on to the citadel for defence purposes and its make-up would seem to show that it should belong to the 17th century. Its existence may be set down to the Bijāpur Sultāns, who later held possession of the place. The above are examples of old guns made in India under Portuguese influence.

We have already noted the reference to matchlocks (*kōvi*), gun (*śataghni, tupāki, pirangi*) and gunpowder (*maddu*) in Mysore during the warfare of the 17th century (see p. 739 *supra*). About the middle of the 18th century, Mysore, in the wake of the Vijayanagar traditions, was the foremost to keep abreast of the times, especially in regard to the modernisation of the army and the modes of warfare. To Karāchuri Nanjarāja, the Daḷavāi, belongs the credit of having "spared no cost for enlisting sepoys with *Europe arms*" and "drawn together a body of at least 2,000 besides 4 companies of topasses" during the siege of Trichinopoly in 1753 (see p. 146 *supra*, citing Fort. St. Geo. *Mily. Cons.*). Haidar walked in the footsteps of his master and patron Daḷavāi Nanjarāja in this regard, though he was shrewd enough to place cavalry above artillery as an effective factor in the warfare of the time, particularly in the trial of strength with his English rivals. This was reversed by Tipū, with results disastrous to Mysore.

### (6) The standing army of Mysore under Haidar.

We have no figures as to the exact numerical strength of the standing army of Mysore in the early years of Haidar's regime as *Sarvādhikāri*. According to Wilks (1810), Haidar's forces in 1767 were made up of 12,860 cavalry, 18,000 infantry and 49 guns; and the Nizām's 30,000 cavalry, 10,000 infantry and 60 guns, the confederate forces making in all 42,860 cavalry, 28,000 infantry and 109 guns as against 1,030 cavalry, 5,800 infantry and 16 guns of the English, including 1,000 cavalry of Nawāb Muhammad Alī (Wilks quoting Col. Smith's letter, *o.c.*, I. 569, f.n.). According to Robson (1786), who actually took part in the war of 1767-1769 against Haidar, the Mysore army under Haidar was, in

1767, made up of 12,000 black horse, 800 Mughal horse, 60 European Hussars, one battalion of Topasses consisting of 1000 men, 5,000 grenadier sepoys, 8000 battalion sepoys (all armed with European muskets and bayonets), 4000 matchlockmen and rocketmen, and 49 pieces of cannon, while Nizām Alī joined Haidar with 30,000 horse, 10,000 sepoys and peons and a great number of rocket men, 60 pieces of cannon and an immense train of "lutty-wallas" (Looty-Wallahs) or freebooters, and the English had two regiments of Europeans (8000 men fit for duty), 7 battalions of sepoys (800 men in each), a corps of artillery, about 500 black horse of the Nawāb of Arcot and 30 European horse commanded by Lieutenent Robson himself(Robson, *Life of Hyder Ally*, 42). A *Fort St. George* record gives the following figures as to the forces of Mysore in 1767: "70,000 men, 50 heavy artillery, 50 medium artillery, and 100 field-pieces" (*Mily. Cons.*, XXVI. 66, Joseph Smith to *Fort St. George*, January 22, 1767). Another speaks of Haidar having at Bangalore "10,000 sepoys, 6,000 black horse, 400 French and Portuguese troopers, 10 large guns and mortars, and 10 camel loads of rockets" (*Ibid*, XXVII. 736, *Consultation* dated August 11, 1767). Again, Chevalier St. Lubin, writing from Haidar's camp in 1767, gives the following account of the Mysore forces: "47 pieces of cannon from 32 to 2 pounds, manned by 180 Europeans, divided into 4 companies; one regiment of 400 Portuguese; one regiment of 400 Topasses, 4 battalions of grenadier sepoys, 800 each with European officers; about 10,000 other sepoys and 500 Polygar peons, 55 European Huzzars and dragoons, 600 coffres with coats of mail, helmets and quilted drawers, mounted on horseback, 500 Mogul or Persian cavalry, 20,000 ordinary black horse, with the Subah's army consisting of 30,000 horse, 5 to 6000 sepoys and 50 pieces of cannon. Haidar Ali's troops are pretty well-armed and well supplied with

12,000 horse, 2,000 rocket boys, 60,000 matchlocks, and 250 Europeans of all nations, divided amongst the infantry, cavalry and artillery" (Peixoto, *Memoirs*, 154, 159). Obviously the figure for the numerical strength of the forces of Mysore seems to have fluctuated from about two lakhs in 1767 to about one lakh in 1770, due to loss in war and other causes, so that the standing army of Mysore under Haidar, in normal times, does not seem to have exceeded a lakh.